

affirmative, the motion is not agreed to.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. LEVIN. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH APPROPRIATIONS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1996

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida.

Mr. MACK. I would like for the RECORD to indicate that my colleague from Nevada, Senator REID, joins me in the tabling motion.

Mr. DOLE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. DOLE. Let me indicate to my colleagues this will not be the last vote this evening because we will try to finish the legislative branch appropriations this evening and then later on in the evening, much later on in the evening, we will take up the rescissions bill. When everything else is done, nothing else is left to do, we will take it up.

VOTE ON AMENDMENT NO. 1808

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion to table the amendment to H.R. 1854 offered by Mr. HOLLINGS. The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. FORD. I announce that the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUE] is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber who desire to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 54, nays 45, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 316 Leg.]

YEAS—54

Abraham	Faircloth	Mack
Ashcroft	Feingold	McCain
Baucus	Frist	McConnell
Bennett	Gorton	Moseley-Braun
Brown	Graham	Nickles
Bryan	Gramm	Nunn
Burns	Grams	Packwood
Chafee	Gregg	Pressler
Coats	Harkin	Reid
Cochran	Hatfield	Roth
Coverdell	Helms	Santorum
Craig	Hutchison	Shelby
D'Amato	Inhofe	Smith
DeWine	Kassebaum	Specter
Dole	Kempthorne	Thomas
Domenici	Kyl	Thompson
Dorgan	Lott	Thurmond
Exon	Lugar	Warner

NAYS—45

Akaka	Conrad	Johnston
Biden	Daschle	Kennedy
Bingaman	Dodd	Kerrey
Bond	Feinstein	Kerry
Boxer	Ford	Kohl
Bradley	Glenn	Lautenberg
Breaux	Grassley	Leahy
Bumpers	Hatch	Levin
Byrd	Heflin	Lieberman
Campbell	Hollings	Mikulski
Cohen	Jeffords	Moynihan

Murkowski	Robb	Simpson
Murray	Rockefeller	Snowe
Pell	Sarbanes	Stevens
Pryor	Simon	Wellstone

NOT VOTING—1

Inouye

The motion to table the amendment (No. 1808) was agreed to.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the motion was agreed to.

Mr. GRAMM. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

COMPREHENSIVE REGULATORY REFORM ACT

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

Mr. DOLE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader is recognized.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I want to thank my Republican colleagues and four of our colleagues on the other side who voted for regulatory reform and congratulate those who stuck together to bury it. It seems to me they have been successful.

I will just say, we thought we made a good effort. There is always more and more and more, and maybe this is all a way to keep the bill from going to the White House where the President indicates he would veto it.

We have had months of negotiation, hundreds of changes, 10 days of consideration, and then we are told, "Oh, we just need more time." Either we are for regulatory reform or we are not. We cannot satisfy everybody in the Chamber, and those people made their choices.

After the vote, people said, "Oh, we just need to negotiate more. Let's just have some more negotiations."

The truth is that our bill largely tracks President Clinton's Executive order but has one important difference. This bill will ensure the requirements are actually carried out.

I particularly want to commend Senator JOHNSTON for his work, and his tireless efforts. He came to me—it seems like months ago now, but I guess it was just weeks—and he said, "We are not going to get anywhere unless we make some changes in this bill." So we set about to make changes. Today, all across America—I do not have a copy—we are being flooded with statements by the Democratic National Committee on this vote about how Senator DOMENICI is for dirty meat, and Senator WARNER and somebody else is for dirty meat. They mixed it up a little, depending on where you live. It has a little cartoon there with our pictures in the middle. Very nicely done.

I think that has been the purpose right along—to try to get a campaign issue. Forget about the farmers and ranchers in Montana, or Kansas, or Virginia, or somewhere else. Forget about the small businessmen and women all across America. We have to

protect the bureaucracy. We cannot have the bureaucracy overworked in Washington, DC. That is what we have heard for the last 3 days.

Not many people in Russell, Kansas, are worried too much about the bureaucracy in Washington, DC. They have never seen it, most of them. They have felt it in their wallets, and they feel it when they open up their little business, and they feel it when they go out of business, and they feel it on the farm, and they feel it on the ranch, and they feel it all across America. But they cannot have regulatory reform because we cannot get the cooperation. Everything in this Senate needs 60 votes. To get 60 votes, you end up with nothing. I do not believe that is what the American people expect us to do.

We can hold our heads high, those of us who voted for cloture. We can look the small businessman in the eye, and we can look the rancher in Montana in the eye, or wherever he may live, and say we did our best, we tried once, twice, three times. We were told, oh, nobody is delaying this bill; we do not want to delay this bill, and we are all for regulatory reform—until a vote came.

Mr. President, I do not know—I think I know what the final outcome is. I do not want to cause any anxiety for my friends on the other side, but I thank Senator BREAUX and Senator HEFLIN and Senator NUNN for their votes, because I know the pressure was great, intense, and steady.

I assume we could have put together a package that would have gotten 100 votes. It would not have been worth anything, but we could have said we all voted for regulatory reform. Particularly, Senator ROTH and Senator HATCH, and others on this side, have worked so hard to try to bring it together. But I think there is a little bit of principle left in this argument. We would like to think that we have at least 58 votes. That is 58 percent of the Senate that would like to have regulatory reform. Eighty-eight percent of the American people would like to have it. But we cannot get it because we are short 2 percent. Two percent of the Senate is denying about 85 or 90 percent of the American people regulatory reform.

That is a right we all have. We have all been through it. Some of us have been on the other side. I do not know of any more important bill than this one. But I think the dye has been cast. I am willing to entertain any legitimate concerns, but no more of these four or five pages that say at the end, "we are not able to accept proceeding with any of these individual amendments without addressing the package as a whole." Then I assume that if this were addressed, there would be another one ready. They are endless.

So I regret that we have failed the American people—again. But there will be other opportunities. I, again, thank my colleagues on this side of the aisle

for being 100 percent for regulatory reform. One hundred percent. You cannot get any better than that.

Mr. DASCHLE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The minority leader is recognized.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I listened with great care to the comments made by the distinguished majority leader. I hope that he will not be discouraged. I hope that, given all the progress we have made so far, we go right back and make some more. I do not think there is a Senator here who would deny that we need regulatory reform. But I also think that virtually every Senator who has examined this issue has concluded that indeed it was one of the most far-reaching, most complex issues we are going to address this year.

We have all been around this place. We all know that when it comes to issues with the magnitude we are talking about now, it is not something you pass on a Tuesday afternoon. I can recall having come here several years ago and spending more than a month on the Clean Air Act. We spent a month. We negotiated and we said we do not know that there is ever going to be a chance to make anymore progress. Lo and behold, we stuck to it because the leaders on both sides said we had to, and what do you know, we did it.

I remember Senators on the other side last year talking about how we really want health care, but it is just not yet exactly what we want, so let us keep negotiating. We talked until we never got health care, unfortunately. I remember talking about the need for campaign finance reform, and vote after vote on cloture, and people on the other side said we have to have campaign finance reform, but this is not the bill. I do not know what their motivation was in voting against cloture on those occasions. I know a lot on that side did not want health care reform, and that is a legitimate position. A lot did not want campaign finance reform, and that is a legitimate position. But a lot of people on this side want regulatory reform. We are continuing to work on this bill because we are not in agreement yet.

I believe that we can reach agreement. I believe that there is a legitimate desire on the part of more and more people to try to resolve these outstanding differences, to get a bill very soon. I just remind all of our colleagues, the bill that was defeated 48 to 52 passed unanimously; Republicans and Democrats voted unanimously for the bill in the Governmental Affairs Committee. If it was so bad then, why did every single Republican vote for it?

I also remind my colleagues, of the 41 votes cast so far, 27 of them have been offered by Senators on the other side. Only 14 amendments have been offered on our side. So I do not want to delay this thing. I do not want to find anymore reasons to delay final passage. Senators on our side are as frustrated as those on the other side. But it is

through that frustration that we must work to accomplish what I believe we all truly want—a good bill, a bill that can bring us an ultimate resolution on something that we all recognize we need.

I yield the floor.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, of the 27 amendments on this side, many of them were offered to accommodate requests on the other side, to make the bill "better."

I do not believe the vote on the Glenn amendment reflected the vote that came out of the committee unanimously. As I recall listening to the Senator from Delaware, that is not the case. It is a different bill entirely. I ask the Senator from Delaware, am I accurate, or have I misstated the problem?

Mr. ROTH. I say to the distinguished majority leader that what we voted for in Committee was entirely different from what was voted for on the floor in the Glenn substitute. The Glenn substitute was toothless. Take, for example, the lookback. The lookback was purely discretionary on the part of the agency head. In our legislation, every rule had to be reviewed in 10 years, or it expired, terminated.

So it is totally false to say that it was the same legislation.

Mr. GLENN. Mr. President, what I just heard here just does not happen to be the truth. It does not square with the facts.

What we brought to the floor was basically the Roth-Glenn bill. It is the same bill with three major changes—A strict definition of a major rule, \$100 million a year, no automatic sunset review, and simplified risk assessment, which was what the National Academy of Science recommended. Outside of those three things, I think—and I can be corrected—I believe it is largely word for word the same thing we brought out of committee unanimously.

Only those three major items were added to the bill that came out of committee. If anyone can show me different, get up on this floor and say that. To say that I misstated and that I misrepresented the Glenn-Chafee bill is just flat not right. It is basically word for word the same as the Roth-Glenn bill that came out of committee, with those three changes I just mentioned.

I want to correct that so we make sure all Members know that.

Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, I do not want to extend the debate on this, but I do want to make it perfectly clear that there were significant differences between the Glenn substitute offered on this floor and what passed out of the Governmental Affairs Committee.

It is a fact that, as far as cost-benefit analysis was concerned, the use of it was totally discretionary in the bill proposed by Senator GLENN; whereas, in the Governmental Affairs Committee, it had to be reviewed and included as part of the review.

When it came to the lookback of rules, it was discretionary, totally dis-

cretionary on the part of the agency head as to whether there would be any rule on the schedule. Whereas, in contrast, in the Governmental Affairs Committee bill, every rule had to be reviewed in a 10-year period or it was terminated.

So, while a lot of the language was the same, the fact was the thrust was different, because in one case there were requirements that cost-benefit be done, and the other there was not.

Mr. GLENN. Mr. President, we will make an analysis and enter in the RECORD tomorrow what the exact changes were. I do not believe that is a fair representation of the bill. We will make the entry in the RECORD tomorrow after we have had a chance to analyze both bills, side by side.

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH APPROPRIATIONS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1996

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

AMENDMENT NO. 1825

(Purpose: To ensure equal opportunity and merit selection in the award of Federal contracts)

Mr. GRAMM. I hate to bring this debate to a close, but let me send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration, and I ask that the complete amendment be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The pending amendments will be set aside. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Texas [Mr. GRAMM] proposes an amendment numbered 1825.

Mr. EXON. Mr. President, since I have the floor, I lost the floor at the discretion of the Chair, and I do not wish to delay this matter a great deal, but I do think that the discussion that has taken place between the majority leader, the minority leader, and others—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is the Senator seeking to object to the reading being dispensed with?

Mr. EXON. I believe I was recognized by the Chair in my own right, was I not?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The regular order is the reading of the amendment to proceed.

The Chair recognized the Senator from Nebraska on the assumption that he might request the reading not proceed. But if the Senator does not rise for that purpose—

Mr. EXON. Would the Chair kindly explain the rules to the Senator? I believe the rules say that when an amendment is offered, if the Chair chooses to recognize someone else, that is within the authority of the Chair. Is that not correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct, if the amendment has been read in its entirety. The amendment was being read when the Senator from Nebraska sought recognition. Recognition is often sought for the purposes of